

## Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 IO-13 SSO-00 ADP-00 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 AEC-11 OMB-01

OIC-04 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 RSR-01 /141 W

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O R 261904 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9353

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

MBFR CAPITALS IMMEDIATE 616

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN

AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 5335

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: DISCUSSION WITH ROMANIAN REP REGARDING FINAL

PLENARY

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1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN DISCUSSION JUNE 26 BETWEEN FRG AND US REPS  
AND ROMANIAN REP CONSTANTINESCU, LATTER GAVE ALLIED REPS TEXT OF  
PROPOSED ROMANIAN STATEMENT OR DELIVERY AT JUNE 28 PLENARY.  
CONSTANTINESCU STATED ROMANIANS WOULD NOT RPT NOT SEEK TO BLOCK

ADOPTION OF COMMUNIQUE. ALLIED REPS PROTESTED THAT TEXT CONSIDERABLY EXCEEDED CONSTANTINESCU'S PREVIOUS DESCRIPTIONS OF ITS POSSIBLE CONTENT, CONTAINED DISTORTED ACCOUNT OF THE POSSIBILITIES ROMANIANS HAD HAD DURING VIENNA TALKS TO PUT FORWARD THEIR VIEWS, AND WAS NOT IN INTERESTS OF ENTIRE ENTERPRISE, OF WHICH ROMANIANS WERE A PART. THEY URGED CONSTANTINESCU TO REPORT THEIR VIEWS TO BUCHAREST AND TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTING HIM TO RECAST STATEMENT IN FORM OF EXPRESSION OF INTERPRETATIONS OF EXISTING COMMUNIQUE TEXT OR PREFERENCES AS REGARDS EXISTING TEXT. CONSTANTINESCU SAID HE WOULD REPORT ALLIED VIEWS, BUT THAT HE COULD NOT REALISTICALLY SEEK INSTRUCTIONS TO CHANGE OVERALL ROMANIAN APPROACH. HE AGREED TO MEET ALLIED REPS ON MORNING OF JUNE 27 FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF TEXT OF HIS PROPOSED STATEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. ON JUNE 26, FRG AND US RPS CALLED ON ROMANINA REP CONSTANTINESCU TO DISCUSS LATTER'S ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO MAKE STATEMENT IN JUNE 28 PLENARY. CONSTANTINESCU SAID HE NOW HAD RECEIVED TEXT OF PROPOSED STATEMENT FROM BUCHAREST, BEFORE GIVING ALLIED REPS TEXT, HE WISHED TO MAKE A FEW COMMENTS. HE WOULD POINT OUT THAT A NUMBER OF ROMANIAN SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE ADVANCED INFORMALLY TO VARIOUS DELEGATES HAD BEEN REJECTED UP TO THIS POINT. THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES BELIEVED THAT THESE SUGGESTIONS SHOULD BE PRESENTED TO THE JUNE 28 PLENARY WHICH WAS THE FIRST PLENARY IN WHICH THE COMMUNIQUE WOULD BE DISCUSSED. CONSTANTINESCU SAID HE ACCEPTED THE AGREED PROCEDURE WHEREBY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PLENARY ( BIRE, GDR) WOULD READ THE TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE AND WOULD REQUEST COMMENTS. ROMANIAN REP WOULD THEN MAKE HIS COMMENT AND BRIE WOULD STATE THAT ALL COMMENTS HAVING BEEN HEARD AND NO OBJECTIONS HAVING BEEN RAISED" THE TEXT WAS ADOPTED. CONSTANTINESCU SAID THAT IF HIS POINTS WERE ACCEPTED BY VIENNA GROUP, HE HAD AUTHORITY TO DROP HIS STATEMENT. ALTERNATIVELY, IF SOME OF THE POINTS WERE ACCEPTED, HE COULD DROP THEM FROM HIS STATEMENT. IN THE PLENARY, HE WOULD EXPRESS REGRET THAT HIS PROPOSALS HAD NOT RECEIVED A BETTER HEARING. THESE PORPOSALS REPRESENTED BUCHAREST'S FINAL WORD AND HE HAD NO AUTHORITY TO

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CHANGE ANY OF THE LANGUAGE EXCEPT AS REGARDS TRANSLATION. CONSTANTINESCU THEN HANDED ALLIED REPS THE PROPOSED ROMANIAN STATEMENT.

3. ALLIED REPS REVIEWED STATEMENT. US REP COMMENTED THAT TEXT WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE SUBSTANTIAL THAN CONSTANTINESCU HIMSELF HAD FORECAST. CONSTATNINESCU ADMITTED THAT TEXT WAS " THICKER" THAN HE HAD HIMSELF PREDICTED, BUT STRESSED AGAIN THAT HE COULD NOT CHANGE IT. ALLIED REPS POINTED OUT THAT FIRST FIVE PARAGRAPHS OF TEXT DID NOT ACCURATELY REFLECT THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION IN VIENNA, SINCE THEY CONVEYED THE IMPRESSION THAT ROMANIAN REP HAD BEEN PREVENTED FROM EXPRESSING HIS VIEWS. THIS WAS FAR FROM THE CASE. ROMANIAN REP HAD BEEN THE MOST ACTIVE AND PERHAPS THE MOST EFFECTIVE OF ALL 19 REPS IN VIENNA CONSULTATIONS.

ALL ALLIED REPS HAD RECEIVED HIM FREELY AND HAD LISTENED ATTENTIVELY TO HIS VIEWS. MOREOVER, ALTHOUGH THIS WAS NOT ALLIED AFFAIR, ROMANIAN REP HAD BEEN AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE EASTERN CAUCUS WHERE THE COMMUNIQUE DRAFT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. SOVIETS NOT ALLIES HAD BLOCKED AGREED PLENARIES.

4. ALLIED REPS EXPRESSED DOUBT WHETHER ROMANINA INTERESTS WOULD BE SERVED BY ENGAGING IN POLEMICAL CONTROVERSY. INSTEAD OF EXPRESSION OF PREFERENCES AS TO FORM TEXT MIGHT HAVE HAD, THE PRESENT TEXT CONTAINED A SERIES OF FORMAL AMENDMENTS. CONSTANTINESCU REPLIED THAT THE ROMANIAN PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER WERE AWAY FROM BUCHAREST IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THERE WAS NO CHANCE OF A CHANGE IN HIS PROPOSED STATEMENT. US REP POINTED OUT THAT ROMANIAN DESIRES CONCERNING THE RIGHT OF PRESENT VIEWS WAS ALREADY REFLECTED IN THE TEXT AND THAT THE PRESENT AMENDMENT WAS SUPERFLUOUS. THE FINAL POINT WITH REGARD TO WORKING GROUPS HAD ALREADY BEEN RAISED ON A PERSONAL BASIS WITH THE SOVIETS WHO WERE RESPONDING RATHER POSITIVELY, SO THAT THIS ISSUE TOO WAS ON THE WAY TO SOLUTION. CONSTANTINESCU SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO ADMIT THAT IT WAS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER IT WAS DESIRABLE TO INCLUDE ALL THE POINTS IN MAKING THE STATEMENT BUT THESE WERE HIS INSTRUCTIONS.

5. US REP INDICATED THAT ROMANIANS MIGHT HAVE TROUBLE WITH SOME OF THEIR ALLIES BUT THE MEANS IT HAS CHOSEN TO GIVE EXPRESSION TO THESE DIFFICULTIES COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS WITH ROMANIA'S WESTERN FRIENDS. IT WAS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THIS TACTIC OF LAYING ABOUT ONESELF IN EVERY DIRECTION WAS IN ROMANIA'S INTEREST  
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OR IN THE INTEREST OF THE COMMON ENTERPRISE.

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O R 261904 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9354

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

ALL MBFR CAPITALS IMMEDIATE 617

USMISSION GENEVA  
USNMR SHAPE  
USLOSACLANT  
USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USDEL SALT TWO II  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN  
AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 5335

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

6. FRG REP POINTED OUT ROMANIAN VIEWS HAD RECEIVED THE WIDEST COVERAGE DURING PRESENT TALKS THROUGH EFFECTIVENESS OF ROMANIAN REP. THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS WERE A NEW UNDERTAKING IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE ROMANINA REMARKS COULD WELL BE TAKEN  
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AS A GENERAL CRITICISM OF THIS UNDERTAKING. THE ROMANIANS WOULD BE SINGLING THEMSELVES OUT IN AN ILL- ADVISED WAY. IT WAS HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THE PRESENT WAS THE RIGHT MOMENT TO DO THIS OR WHETHER THE RIGHT METHOD WAS BEING CHOSEN.

7. CONSTANTINESCU REPLIED THAT IT WAS STANDARD INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE FOR PARTICIPANTS IN MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS TO MAKE STATEMENTS. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROPOSED STATEMENT SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED. ROMANIA WAS NOT REJECTING TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE BUT WOULD ACCEPT IT.

8. ALLIED REPS SUGGESTED THAT CONSTANTINESCU SHOULD TRANSMIT THEIR VIEWS TO HIS AUTHORITIES TOGETHER WITH SUGGESTION THAT THE PRESENT STATEMENT BE RECAST IN THE FORM OF PREFERENCES. FRG REP SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE EVEN BETTER IF THE TEXT WOULD BE REFORMULATED AS A SERIES OF INTERPRETATIONS OF THE EXISTING COMMUNIQUE TEXT. THIS PROCEDURE WOULD BE MORE IN THE INTEREST OF ROMANIA AND OF ALL OF THE OTHER STATES. CONSTAN- TINESCU SAID IT WAS TOO LATE TO CHANGE THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSED STATEMENT. HE WOULD CONVEY THE ALLIED VIEWS TO BUCHAREST BUT HE WOULD HAVE TO REFUSE TO ASK FOR NEW INSTRUCTIONS TO TAKE A DIFFERENT APPROACH. THE DECISION ON THE PRESENT TEXT HAD BEEN TAKEN AT A HIGH LEVEL IN THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT.

9. ALLIED REPS REQUESTED CONTANTINESCU TO RECONSIDER ENTERPRISE

AND IT WAS AGREED TO MEET AGAIN ON MORNING OF JUNE 27.

10. COMMENT: IT IS OBVIOUS FROM TEXT OF ROMANIAN STATEMENT THAT IT WAS DRAFTED FOR DELIVERY AT THE PLENARY SESSION PRIOR TO THE FINAL PLENARY WHICH WAS NEVER HELD. ITS FORMAL PROPOSALS FOR AMENDMENTS ARE INAPPROPRIATE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. GIVEN THE BACKGROUND OF ROMANIAN ATTITUDES, THE STATEMENT IS DIRECTED MAINLY AT THE SOVIETS. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, IN THE PRESENT MULTILATERAL CONTEXT, IT ALSO AUTOMATICALLY CUTS AT THE ALLIES. THERE IS STRONG GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG ALLIES THAT IT IS TOO LATE AND TOO RISKY AN ENTERPRISE TO SEEK TO OPEN THE TEXT TO ACCOMMODATE THE ROMANIANS. IN THEIR JUNE 27 DISCUSSION WITH CONSTANTINESCU, FRG AND US REP INTEND TO TRY TO REVISE TEXT OF STATEMENT RADICALLY AND IF THIS DOES NOT WORK, TO PROPOSE AN AGREED STATEMENT ON THE MAIN POINTS OF ROMANIAN INTEREST FOR DELIVERY IN THE PLENARY IN ORDER TO GET ROMANIANS CONFIDENTIAL

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TO DROP SEPARATE STATEMENT. REQUEST THAT THIS POSSIBLE TACTIC NOT BE REVEALED TO ROMANIANS ELSEWHERE. HUMES

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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MBFR CAPITALS  
GENEVA  
USNMR SHAPE  
USLOSACLANT  
USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH

SALT TWO  
ANKARA  
BELGRADE  
OTTAWA  
PRAGUE  
SOFIA  
Y ATHENS UNN  
HELSINKI UNN  
MADRID UNN

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